# Democracy in Africa--Recent Analyses: A Bibliography with Annotations

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# CONTENTS

# INTRODUCTION

This annotated bibliography was compiled in response to a request from the Africa Bureau at the Agency for International Development for an overview of USAID and non-USAID documents focusing on democracy in Africa, as part of the ongoing research into issues of democracy and governance conducted by the bureau.

Due to the volume of materials available on the topic of democratization in the context of Africa, and the evolving nature of political situations on the ground in Africa, a decision was made to focus on recent documents on this topic in order to maximize the utility of this bibliography to practitioners in the field and in Washington. As a result, the bibliography incorporates selected materials from USAID, other donors, and academia with the intent of providing a broad overview of writings in the area of democracy in Africa.

The bibliography is divided into three sections:

Section I reviews articles focusing on democracy in Africa for the past 2 years. Section II reviews books focusing on democracy in Africa for the past 5 years.

All citations are ordered alphabetically within these two sections.

Section III contains a current bibliography of USAID documents focusing on democracy in Africa from 1994-1996. Citations are ordered by subject categories, and then sequentially within each category, beginning with the most recent.

# SECTION I: Article Citations from 1994-1995 on Democracy in Africa

**Adekanye, J. 'Bayo. (1995). "Structural Adjustment, Democratization and Rising Ethnic Tensions in Africa." Development and Change. 26:355-74.**

Examines the interaction of these three factors in the African context. The author argues that given the apparent link between SAP's (Structural adjustment programs) and increased ethnic tensions, "it is suggested that the issue of the distribution of power, wealth and ethnicity, especially under conditions of increasing scarcity, needs to be reconsidered." The author considers the implications of both ethnic conflict and struggles for democracy in the context of SAP's.

**Anglin, Douglas G. (1995). "International monitoring of the transition to democracy in South Africa, 1992-1994." African Affairs. 94, (377), October:519-543**.

This article discusses the monitoring of the South African elections in 1994 in light of the political context and restraints, and the electoral arrangements. It argues that the monitoring process was substantially different in South Africa because of greater domestic participation in the monitoring process, greater monitoring of violence in the pre-election period, the variety and number of monitors,

the lack of foreign military presence, and the wide variety and number of monitoring groups participating in the process. It also argues that the comprehensiveness of involvement represents, "a unique instance of 'preventative deployment' as envisaged in the Secretary General's Agenda for Peace." (p.521)

**Barkan, Joel D. (1994). "Can Established Democracies Nurture Democracy Abroad?: Lessons from Africa." MSU Working Papers on Political Reform in Africa. Working Paper #10, Michigan State University, November 15, 1994**.

This paper attempts to answer the above question through the examination of programs that established democracies employ to nurture democracy in other countries. It argues that there are several lessons that can be drawn from the experiences of USAID and other aid agencies: (1) The promotion of democracy requires a consistent foreign policy - which is usually impossible to pursue; (2) democratization is fundamentally a process of institution-building and political socialization, rather than the single events such as elections; (3) nurturing democracy takes time, and progress will be uneven and uncertain; (4) most donor agencies need to incorporate political analysis into their programs, (5) democracies should increase coordination among themselves, and with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Barkan argues that perhaps most importantly, democracy promoters must realize that these programs by their very nature operate at the margins of the process, and that for transitions to be successful they must be driven by internal processes.

**Barkan, Joel D. (1995). "Debate: PR and Southern Africa: I. Elections in Agrarian Societies." Journal of Democracy. 6, (4), October:106-16.**

This is the first part of a two part article on Proportional Representation (PR) and Southern Africa (See Reynolds, Andrew for a summary of the second portion). Barkan reviews the debate about the suitability of proportional representation as an electoral method. Proponents of PR argue that (1) it is the fairest method to elect representatives because a political party receives the same proportion of seats as proportion of the popular vote; (2) it is inclusive because it allows even very small groups in the society to have their views heard unlike winner-take-all systems; (3) by facilitating participation, PR also facilitates power sharing; and (4) it enhances prospects for democracy in plural societies by allowing representation of diverse groups. Barkan argues that in agrarian societies the benefits of PR are not as evident, while the disadvantages of PR can become quite harmful. These include the inability of MP's to be associated with a particular constituency, which is problematic in agrarian societies because agrarian residents identify themselves more on the basis of where they live, rather than other criteria such as occupation. An inability to see their concerns represented by a dedicated representative leads to voter frustration and the disconnection of political representatives from the people they are supposed to represent. Barkan argues that for this reason single member districts (SMD) are a preferable arrangement, because under SMD, "The more agrarian the society the higher the geographic concentration of the vote and the more closely the distribution of seats under an SMD system will mirror the distribution of the total vote." p.114.

**Boafo-Arthur, Kwame. (1994). "Democracy and the prospects for integration in West Africa." Africa Insight. 24, (4): 281-6.**

The article attempts to examine the extent to which democracy might facilitate regional integration, which is an important factor in maximizing the development potential of West Africa. Boafo-Arthur argues that since its establishment by the Treaty of Lagos in 1975, the Economic Community of West African States, ECOWAS has faced obstacles to its objective of promoting greater economic cooperation

and development between its member states. There are structural constraints, linked to the different sizes and levels of development of ECOWAS member states, limited transport and communications facilities in and among member states, currency problems, and protective trade structures, among other things. Political stability is key to the success of ECOWAS because the political uncertainty in the region has limited the progress in cooperation between these states. Insofar as democracy can promote political stability, it is a desirable outcome for the success of ECOWAS.

**Bratton, Michael. (1994). "International versus Domestic Pressures for 'Democratization' in Africa." MSU Working Papers on Political Reform in Africa. No. 12, November 15.**

This paper focuses on the connections between the trends in world politics (such as the end of the Cold War) on the process of democratization in Africa from 1990 to 1994. The paper addresses the question of to what extent the democratization process in Africa was triggered by these external events. Bratton argues that a convergence of both internal and external forces produced the dramatic democracy outcomes that occurred during this period. The end of the Cold War proved to be the catalyst for pre-existing political interests in African countries.

**Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State. (1994). "Assessing African Democratization." INS Foreign Affairs Brief. May 9.**

Summary of a conference held April 15-16, 1994, and co-sponsored by the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies and the US Army War College. Argues that "democracy in Africa would be improved by broader based political parties, better economic performance, and more professional militaries." (p.1) Brief discussions are included of Francophone Africa; autocratic impediments to democracy; strengthening political parties; managing ethnicity; improving economic performance; downsizing armies; and the role of international donors and US policy effectiveness.

**Chabal, Patrick. (1994). "Review Article: Democracy and Daily Life in Black Africa." International Affairs. 70, (1), January:83-91.**

A review of four recently published books on Black Africa. Using these texts, Chabal argues that it is not necessary to use Africa-specific contextual approaches to understand Africa's post-colonial politics, rather, analytical tools that are used to make sense of other societies are wholly applicable to explaining political development in Africa today. Chabal argues that myths that persist from the colonial era cloud analytical thinking about the democratization process and that in Africa, as elsewhere, politics is a reflection of the practices by which societies regulate the relations between power and production linking the rulers and the ruled.

**Chege, Michael. (1995). "Between Africa's Extremes." Journal of Democracy. 6, (1), January:44-51.**

Argues that one of the greatest problems facing Africa's democratizing regimes is "crafting representative political institutions on a social foundation of deep-seated ethnic rivalries and economic inequalities." Chege emphasizes the role of political leadership as a crucial variable in these transitions and finds that elections have been given too much emphasis as a measure of successful democratization. Finally, Chege argues that any analysis of democratization in Africa must recognize the diversity of civil society actors and levels of strength across African countries.

**Cilliers, Jakkie. (1995). "Armed Forces and Democracy: III. Security and Transition in South**

**Africa." Journal of Democracy. 6, (4), October:35-49.**

This is the third part of a more general series on the armed forces and democracy. Jakkie Cilliers focuses on Southern Africa and argues that internal threats to political stability are greater in Africa than almost anywhere else, and that in order to maintain a minimum level of internal coherence, these states will be forced to maintain substantial security establishments. Specifically he argues that there is a need for greater concern with security issues as well as more cooperation on a bilateral and multilateral basis. To develop a military force that can co-exist with a civilian government is a major obstacle for these states. To do this, he argues, there must be a clear understanding of the boundaries of military authority and a consensus within the military about their role in the society. Rather than focusing on things such as arms control, Cilliers argues that western donors could better focus their attention on such things as training armies to be professional and apolitical.

**Clark, John F. (1994). "The Constraints on Democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Case for Limited Democracy." SAIS Review. 14, (2), Summer:91-108.**

This article argues that while democratic development is theoretically and practically possible in Africa, that the constraints are great, and regimes most likely to survive are those that promise the least, compromise the most, evolve gradually, and concentrate on basic government services. Clark argues that "limited democracy" is the best option to reconcile the need for greater political liberalization with the reality of multiple constraints in Africa. African regimes must limit their social welfare, and understand that improvements in areas such as human rights will come slowly, as democratic values are socialized into the population.

**Clark, John F. (1994). "Elections, Leadership and Democracy in Congo." Africa Today. 41,(3), 3rd Quarter:41-60.**

Discusses the ongoing transition to democracy in Congo, emphasizing that "the Congo experience provides some evidence for those who believe that successful democratization depends as much on personal comportment as it does on structural prerequisites." (p.42) Analyzes historical structural impediments to democracy in Congo, including ethnic heterogeneity, historically undemocratic political structure, and cold war alliances. Clark argues that a combination of economic and legitimacy crises set the stage for democratic development by undermining the foundations of the old regime. Discusses challenges to successful democratization in Congo, including the potential for a military coup, and the need to hold free and fair elections. Concludes that in the long run, the consolidation of democracy in the Congo may prove more difficult than the transition.

**"Democracy not 'winner takes all.'" (1995). West Africa. 4053, June 12:916**

Excerpts from an address on democracy delivered by Lord Plumb (co-president of the Africa Caribbean Pacific European Union Joint Assembly). Argues that there is a change in politics in Africa, that the old system that has dominated since the 1960's is now being overcome and replaced with attempts at democratic governance. Stresses the importance of acceptance by all participants of the fundamental principles of democracy. Emphasizes a cautiously optimistic outlook for Africa.

**Development Policy Management Forum. (1995). "Development Policy Management in Sub-Saharan Africa: Civil Service Reform." DPMN Bulletin. III, (1), August.**

This entire issue of the DPMN Bulletin is devoted to the topic of development policy management in

sub-Saharan Africa with a specific focus on civil service reform. There are five articles: Civil Service Reform: A Commonwealth Perspective; Democratizing Administrative Reform in Benin, Burkina Faso, and Mali; Civil Service Reform: Hurdles and Helps; Ethics and Accountability in the African Civil Service; and AAPAM's (African Association for Public Administration and Management) Contribution to Civil Service Reform.

**Diamond, Larry. (1994). "Democracy: The New Wind." Africa Report. 39, (5), September:50-54.**

Evaluates the wave of democratization sweeping Africa during the 1990's. While recognizing that there are several reservations about the durability and genuineness of many of the changes taking place, Diamond dismisses the more dire predictions of Robert Kaplan as "highly sensationalized and only partly accurate." (p51). Diamond argues that the major challenges of the next decade are: political institutionalization, institutional design for power-sharing, enhancing governmental accountability and transparency, material progress, and permanent debt relief.

**Doro, Marion E. (1995). "The Democratization Process in Africa." Choice: Current Reviews of Academic Books. 33, (2), October:245-57.**

A good overview of current literature on democracy in Africa, with additional sections discussing major themes in the literature, and a research guide to relevant materials. Doro argues that there has been a shift in the focus of the literature from the "analysis of failure to achieve democracy to the reactions to such failures and subsequent public demands for reform." Doro reviews Africa-focused literature on a variety of democracy related topics including: Background to Democratization; Democracy as the Central Focus; Economic Development and Democracy; Elections; Case Studies of African States; and The Special Case of South Africa. Doro concludes with a section on research resources, that covers everything from general reference materials to journals, empirical data, periodicals, etc.

**"Ghana: Democracy and the professional." (1995). West Africa. 4067, September 18:1482**

Speech by the President of the Association of Recognized Professional Bodies, Mr. Sam Okudzeto, emphasizing the importance of professionals standing for office and getting involved in the political process generally. Mr. Okudzeto argues that because professional groupings are generally politically neutral, or at least not organized on partisan lines, that such organizations have a role to play in civic education. He argues that the internal structures of such associations often mimic democratic interactions giving their members considerable experience with such things as compromise, understanding of different interpretations of issues, and coalition-building.

**Ham, Melinda and Mike Hall. (1994). "President Bakili Muluzi: Building Democracy." Africa Report. 39, (6), November:60-62.**

An interview with the newly-elected President of Malawi, Bakili Muluzi who argues that since his election human rights abuses have ended, but admits that it will be a long road to establish democracy in a state that has never been democratic. He discusses various issues in Malawi's democratization process including the formation of various commissions, working without a parliamentary majority, ethnic divisions, and the role of the international community.

**Ibrahim, Jibrin. (1994). "Political Exclusion, Democratization and Dynamics of Ethnicity in Niger." Africa Today. 41, (3), 3rd Quarter:15-39**.

Argues that post-colonial Africa has been characterized by the increasing exclusion of many groups in society from political participation under authoritarian regimes, and that the wave of democratization that swept across Africa reflected in part, the demands of these groups to be a part of the political process. Discusses the political evolution of Niger in this context. Argues that ethnic pluralism in Niger became a basis for exclusion of groups from political participation. Outlines the transition to democracy in Niger and argues that there are serious, though not unsurmountable obstacles to the maintenance of democracy in Niger.

**International Republican Institute. (1995) "African Democracy Network: Conference Report." Report of an IRI Conference. March 8-10, Mombasa, Kenya**.

Report of a seminar on democracy attended by nearly 60 cabinet ministers, parliamentarians, election commissioners, political party representatives, non-governmental organization officials and journalists. The seminar's goal was to "attempt to create a definition of democracy in the African context, taking into account how the widely-accepted pillars of democracy could be embodied in a constitution. These principles were determined to be: sovereignty of the people; government based upon the consent of the governed; majority rule; minority rights; guarantee of basic human rights; free and fair elections; equality before the law; due process of law; constitutional limits on government; social, economic and political pluralism; and values of tolerance, pragmatism, cooperation and compromise.

**Kornegay, Jr., Francis A. (1994). "Chakufwa Chihana: Dissident for Democracy." Africa Report. 39, (1), January:59-61.**

Interview with Chakufwa Chihana, a long-time leader of the trade union movement in southern Africa, and human rights advocate from Malawi on the transition to democracy in Malawi. He discusses efforts between the government and the opposition to put democratic reforms into place, what the U.S. and international community's role should be, party platforms, and the future of the trade union movement in Malawi.

**Lake, Anthony. (1995). "U.S. Support for Democracy in Africa." US Department of State Dispatch. 6, (2), January 9:13.**

An address by the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs to the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, December 15, 1994. Emphasizes U.S. interests in Africa, discusses specific initiatives such as conflict resolution, and the Greater Horn of Africa Initiative, and emphasizes the need for a partnership between the U.S. and African states to promote democratization and sustainable development.

**Lindeke, William A. and Winnie Wanzala. (1994). "Regional Elections in Namibia: Deepening Democracy and Gender Inclusion." Africa Today. 41, (3):5-14.**

Emphasis on the role of sub-national elections in the democratic consolidation process in Africa. Discusses the 1992 regional elections in Namibia and argues that, "In all, the process and results of these elections confirm the peaceful and democratic trends evidenced earlier in Namibia's independence process." (p.9) Another section discusses the role of women in the electoral process in Namibia. Notes that participation of women as political candidates was very low at the regional level in 1992, and somewhat higher at the local level.

**Martin, Guy. (1994). "Democratization and Governance in Africa: General Trends and**

Typology." Paper presented at the USAID Workshop on Civil Society, Democracy and Development in Africa, Washington, D.C., June 9-10.

Presents an overview of the main themes and issues in the debate over democratization in Africa and offers a framework for understanding the processes of democratic transition currently taking place in Africa. Martin reviews literature from 1986-1994, including books and articles. Some discussion is also given to major themes in African studies including the relationship between democracy and development, mutiparty systems, and the state and civil society in Africa. Martin argues that there is a noticeable unevenness of country coverage in the existing literature, with the omission of Francophone and Lusophone countries being quite evident. Martin also finds a dearth of detailed, field derived country case studies; and studies of political parties and their tendency to coalesce around ethnic boundaries.

**"Mungai on multi-partyism." West Africa. 4053, June 12:917-918.**

An assessment by a member of the Kenyan Parliament, Njenga Mungai on developments in Kenya since the reintroduction of multipartyism in 1992. Mungai argues that the various opposition groups need to have substantive discussions about the problems facing Kenya, among them health and corruption.

**Museveni, Yoweri Kaguta. (1994) "Democracy and Good Governance in Africa: An African Perspective." Mediterranean Quarterly. 5, (4), Fall:1-8.**

Adapted from a presentation at the conference "Democracy in Africa," sponsored by Mediterranean Affairs, Inc., and the Subcommittee on Africa, U.S. House of Representatives, June 22, 1994. Argues that current events in Africa must be understood through the historical effects of colonialism. Museveni discusses Uganda in this context, arguing that there was a need to dismantle the colonial structures in order for progress to occur. Museveni argues that "when building institutions one must take into account the peculiarities of each community or society. They must reflect the objective political and socioeconomic conditions of the societies in which they grow." Museveni concludes that although he agrees with Western states on the substance of democracy, he feels that the details must be left to suit the conditions in Uganda.

**"Nigeria: The search for democracy."(1994). West Africa. 3995, April 25:724-725.**

Discusses the future of Nigeria given the annulment of the presidential elections in 1993. Several conferences have been held about the future of democracy in Nigeria. It is argued that the failure of democracy in Nigeria stems from: lack of control of natural resources by the Nigerian people, centralization of power, the lack of a free and fair judiciary, lack of institutions capable of checking central government power. It is argued that decentralization might be an important tool to redistribute power.

**Nzouankeu, Jacques Mariel. (1994). "Decentralization and democracy in Africa." International Review of Administrative Sciences. 60, (2), 213-27.**

Examines the nature of the relationship between decentralization and democracy in Africa, arguing that "decentralization is a natural and indispensable counterpart to pluralistic democracy [and] any political reform aimed at democratizing institutions, in particular the founding of a pluralist democracy, will only be fully effective insofar as it is accompanied by far-reaching administrative reforms which effectively redistribute power." (p.214-5) The analysis focuses on specific administrative issues relating to implementing decentralization programs including: decentralizing the structures of the state,

decentralizing social structures, adapting conventional means of distributing power, and general recommendations.

**Peterson, David L. (1994). "Debunking Ten Myths About Democracy in Africa." The Washington Quarterly. 17, (3), Summer:129-140**.

Argues against many of the most popular myths about democracy in Africa such as: Africans do not want democracy; economic development must come before democracy; structural adjustment will destroy democracy; democracy will lead to tribalism and war; Africa has no strong democratic leadership; Africa is a basket case; Africans are too illiterate to understand Western style representative democracy; foreign aid and Western intervention do more harm than good; democracy in Africa will take a long time; and democracy in Africa is a myth.

**Pondi, Jean-Emmanuel, & Kuper, Katherine. (1995). "From Pariah to Pedagogue: South Africa's Contribution to Democracy in Africa." SAIS Review. 15, (1), Winter/Spring:37-54.**

Analyzes the transition to democracy in South Africa in the context of the broader wave of democratization occurring in Africa. Argues that the experiences of many democratizing African states, particularly the failures, may have helped South Africa's own transition by providing an example of how high the stakes of democratization were. Outlines the transition process in South Africa, and discusses lessons that can be learned from the South African experience, including: "the international context, the economic and political implications of developments occurring in the rest of Africa, and the quality of the country's political leadership."

**Rasheed, Sadig. (1995). "The Democratization Process and Popular Participation in Africa: Emerging Realities and the Challenges Ahead." Development and Change. 26, 333-54**.

Examines the recent democratic transitions from the perspective of their relative fragility and vulnerability to reversal. Rasheed argues that the role of external forces in this process has been overstated and that the current transitions are not entrenched and are therefore susceptible to retrenching. Elections were only the beginning, he argues, of a much more complicated process that must be completed in order to maintain the democratic gains that have been secured thus far. Another section examines the role of foreign donors in assisting the democratization process in Africa.

**Reynolds, Andrew. (1995). "Constitutional Engineering in Southern Africa." Journal of Democracy. 6, (2), April:86-99.**

A discussion of the impact of electoral system design on political accommodation and stability in ethnically divided societies. The argument is that the socially and ethnically divided societies of Africa require a system that can promote stability and participation. Reynolds argues that a Proportional Representation (PR) system with a Parliamentary form of government is a good start. In addition, Reynolds would modify the PR system to reflect greater accountability of MP's. This is a more detailed version of the argument presented in the Journal of Democracy in October 1995.

**Reynolds, Andrew (1995). "Debate: PR and Southern Africa: II. The Case for Proportionality." Journal of Democracy. 6, (4), October:117-124.**

This is the second part of a two part article on Proportional Representation and Southern Africa (See Barkan, Joel, for a summary of the second portion). Reynolds argues that Barkan bases his argument

about the fairness of PR versus SMD elections on atypical cases, namely Malawi in 1994, and Zimbabwe in 1995. He argues that for other African countries that have held elections using the PR system, the results have been substantially more proportional and representative. Further, he argues that the disadvantages of SMD systems are such as to undermine democracy in Africa by creating "de-facto" one party states where the rulers are not challenged. He cites five elections in Africa: Zimbabwe 1995, 1990, 1985, Malawi 1994, and Zambia 1991 as evidence of this trend of one party dominance. Reynolds acknowledges, however, the flaws in PR pointed out by Barkan and proposes a system in which seats in the legislature would be filled not only by MP's in proportionate numbers to the seats received by their party, but also be ranked within their own lists so that the most popular candidates would fill the seats.

**Shattuck, John (1995). "Human Rights and Democracy in Africa. " U.S. Department of State Dispatch. 6, (9), February 27:151-4.**

Statement before the Subcommittee on Africa of the House International Relations Committee, Washington, D.C., February 22, 1995. Emphasizes the general trend towards democratization and market-based economic systems in Africa. Summarizes U.S. policy goals in Africa: democratic, stable, effective, and responsible governments; equitable economic growth; prevention and resolution of conflicts; and effective responses to transnational issues. Shattuck outlines the various tools the United States uses to promote democracy and human rights, including assistance programs and annual country human rights reports. Discusses democratic developments in 1994, and the crisis in Rwanda.

**"Sierra Leone: Ballots and bullets."(1995). West Africa. 4063, August 21:1322-4. Is the NPRC (National Provisional Revolutionary Council) willing or able to bring democracy?**

Discussion of the likelihood of successful elections and transition to democracy in Sierra Leone. Although there are many hopeful signs, such as the scheduling of elections - the article argues that there are also several more troubling signs, such as the human rights record of the regime, the ongoing rebel war, and ongoing financial difficulties. Another important influence is the leverage of the donor countries on the NPRC.

**Sillah, Mohammed-Bassiru. (1995). "Democracy: Stability First." West Africa. 4043, April 3:504-5.**

A discussion of the preconditions for democracy in Africa. Dr. Sillah argues that political leadership is of crucial importance, regardless of the nature of the regime, i.e. that a benevolent dictator is preferable to a corrupt elected leader. He argues that authoritarian regimes can then be transformed over time into democratic regimes. Forcing African states to adopt multi-party systems is fruitless, he argues because they only feed breakdowns. Sillah argues that African states must act as reinforcers to one another in the development process.

**Takirambudde, Peter Nanyenya. (1995). "Media Freedom and the Transition to Democracy in Africa." African Journal of International and Comparative Law. 7, (1), March:18-53**.

Takirambudde questions the "sustainability of democratization Africa in circumstances wherein the press remains largely unfree." Without true press freedom, he argues, the appearance of democracy is illusory at best. He makes an argument for the inclusion of press freedom as a core component of democracy. He provides a historical overview of media law since the colonial era in Africa. He argues that legal reform, technical support for media freedom, and civic and human rights education could contribute to greater press freedoms in the democratizing countries in Africa.

**van Binsbergen, Wim. (1995). "Aspects of Democracy and Democratization in Zambia and Botswana: Exploring African Political Culture at the Grassroots." Journal of Contemporary African Studies. 13, (1):3-33.**

An examination of the political culture in Zambia and Botswana from an anthropological standpoint. Emphasizes the need for people to participate in the political process. Discusses the impact of the imposition of Western models of democracy in the African context, and emphasizes the importance of understanding the historical context of social relations in the society as a base over which the framework for modern democracy has been placed.

**van de Walle, Nicolas. (1995). "Crisis and Opportunity in Africa." Journal of Democracy. 6, (2), April:128-141.**

This is part three of a four part series on Economic Reform and Democracy. Van de Walle argues that the current wave of democratization offers an unprecedented opportunity to address the continuing economic crisis on the continent. He argues that specific economic policies these states choose to pursue are less important than the process of building institutions that will support economic development. Although the process of democratization could hinder economic reforms by opening up the decision making process to participation by a myriad of groups, van de Walle argues that democratization will also result in increased government accountability and transparency. He argues that states that have high levels of sociopolitical stability and low levels of uncertainty are known as "developmental states." While most African states could be considered "antidevelopmental," van de Walle argues that little attention has been given to this aspect of development.

**Watson, Catharine. (1994). "Burundi: The Death of Democracy." Africa Report. 39, (1), January/February:26-31**.

Profiles the recent developments in Burundi following the assassination of the country's first president from the Hutu majority, Mechior Ndadaye. It details the massacres of Tutsis that occurred in retaliation for the murder of Ndadaye, and the counter-massacres of Hutu that occurred in response. It argues that people no longer view themselves as Burundian, but Hutu or Tutsi, reflecting society's fragmentation.

**Zarembo, Alan. (1995). "Controlled Democracy." Africa Report. 40, (3), May/June:52-55.**

Discussion of democracy in Eritrea, focusing on the control exerted by the ruling EPLF (Eritrean People's Liberation Front), including the apparent suppression of dissent. The article argues that while a loyal post-independence nationalistic fervor still grips the country, and that trouble will grow when the opposition becomes more organized in the wake of the current euphoria.

# SECTION II--Book Citations from 1990-1995 on Democracy in Africa

**Ake, Claude. (1994). Democratization of Disempowerment in Africa. Lagos: Malthouse Press, Ltd**.

Argues that the democratization that is occurring today in Africa, rather than empowering, is actually

"legitimizing the disempowerment of ordinary people." There is a dichotomy between the perceptions and expectations of democracy at the level of the African political elites, and the masses. African political elites, Ake argues, view democracy as a means of maintaining or attaining power, while the mass see democracy as a liberation from repressive political leaders of the past. Ake argues that the focus of the masses in Africa is not on the type of liberal Western democracy that has so far been pushed on them, but a democracy that addresses their most critical needs for economic and social justice.

**Ambrose, Brendalyn P. (1995). Democratization and the Protection of Human Rights in Africa: Problems and Prospects. Westport: Praeger Publishers.**

Argues that liberal democracy is not the best option for Africa, that Africans need a democracy that suits their reality. Argues that liberal democracy works in Europe because those countries had already become economically developed before they became democratic. An African centered analysis that argues that current efforts to defend human rights in Africa are being led by elites with their own agenda, and that for true reform to occur it cannot be top-down, but must be bottom up, with action being taken by the oppressed people themselves. Ambrose links the political failures in Africa to the economic situation in these countries and argues that there can be no democratization without development. Further, he argues, African education must be linked to productive work rather than the liberal education agenda of most universities and other institutions of higher education.

**Bowman, Larry W. (1991). Mauritius : democracy and development in the Indian Ocean. Boulder, Colo. : Westview Press**.

A case study of the Indian Ocean island country of Mauritius. The nineteenth volume in the series, "Profiles - Nations of Contemporary Africa," this analysis provides an overview of the historical development of Mauritius, including chapters on the society and culture, the politics of independent Mauritius, the economy, and international relations. As an example of a country in which, "elections are held regularly, and a vibrant multiparty system ensures that voters have some measure of choice...[Mauritius is] ahead of nearly all African countries on most development indicators...and a tolerant political culture has evolved that allows an exceptionally diverse group of people to live together in considerable harmony."

**Caron, B., A. Gboyega and E. Osaghae, Editors. (1992). Democratic Transition in Africa. Ibadan: Centre de Recherches d'Echanges et de Documentation Universitaire.**

This document comprises the proceedings of the Symposium on Democratic Transition in Africa, held in Ibadan, Nigeria, from June 16-19, 1992. The conference contributions are organized under several headings: The International Environment of Democratic Transition, Democratic Theory and the Rationale for Transition, The Civil Society Context of Democratic Transition, The Military Context of Democratic Transition, Legal and Institutional Mechanisms for Democratic Transition, The Economic Context of Democratic Transition, and The Future of Democracy in Africa beyond the Transition.

**Datta, Kusum. (1991). Democracy and elections in Botswana with some reference to general literature on democracy and elections in Africa: A bibliography. Talence, France : Centre d'etude d'Afrique noire, Institut d'etudes politiques de Bordeaux.**

This is a bibliography covering the literature on democracy in Botswana primarily, with some attention given to democracy in other African countries and in general. It has 446 citations, about 57 percent of which focus on Botswana, and 37 percent on Africa or specific African countries, with the balance on

more general issues. The bibliography was published in 1991, and therefore does not cover more recent literature, but may be useful as a source of historical writings on these topics.

**du Toit, Pierre. (1995). State Building and Democracy in Southern Africa: Botswana, Zimbabwe and South Africa. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press.**

Examines the prospects for long term democratic sustainability in Southern Africa. The prospects for Botswana are argued to be much stronger and much less problematic than the prospects for Zimbabwe. Du Toit focuses on the relationship between state strength, societal strength and democratic viability with a view to determining what South Africans can learn about democracy building from an examination of these two countries. Du Toit concludes that a precondition for successful democratization is the maintenance or establishment of a strong autonomous state.

**Ellis, Stephen. (1995). Democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa: Where did it come from? Can it be Supported? The Hague: European Centre for Development Policy Management.**

This monologue was written at the request of the Foundation for a New South Africa as part of a study-day to inform the NZA Board on the status of democracy and democratic movements in Africa. The paper presents a concise overview of democratic development in Africa, from the perspective of measurable developments and areas of concern. It is written with the donor community in mind and seeks to address the question of the role foreign donors should play, and concludes with recommendations for aid donors working in the area of democracy and governance in Africa, including consideration of performance of individual governments, more pragmatic approaches to civil society and aid generally, and greater encouragement of independent media.

**Healey, John; Robinson, Mark. (1992). Democracy, governance and economic policy : Sub-Saharan Africa in comparative perspective. ODI development policy studies, Published by Overseas Development Institute.**

This analysis focuses on the "political dimensions of development" and what constitutes "good governance" in the developing world. The study aims to "review the evolution of authoritarian rule in sub-Saharan Africa," to "examine political explanations of economic policy formation and change in the 1970's and 1980's," to "review the academic debate on democracy and development in the Third World," and to "assess the prospects for political liberalization and greater political accountability in Africa." This analysis provides a comprehensive overview of basic debates in the field of political science over the issues of democratization and its relationship to economic liberalization, as well as a historical overview of political development in Africa.

**Hyden, Goran and Michael Bratton, Editors. (1992). Governance and Politics in Africa. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.**

This analysis considers the current wave of democratic reform in Africa in light of the historical postindependence experience of the continent and seeks to "develop the concept of governance for use in comparative political analysis." This framework is developed in Chapter 1. Chapter 2 provides an overview of recent political protest in Africa to gauge the magnitude of changes occurring. The last nine chapters illustrate three regime types: the first is "countries where experimentation with democratic governance has been a consistent feature of the postindependence period...the second regime type is populist but military...and the third regime type is made up of one-party states that have faced growing pressure for change."

**Kpundeh, Sahr John Editor. (1992). Democratization in Africa : African Views, African Voices : Summary of Three Workshops. Panel on Issues in Democratization, Commission on Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education, National Research Council. Washington, D.C. : National Academy Press.**

Summarizes the contributions of three workshops organized by the National Research Council for the Africa Bureau at USAID. These workshops were organized in order to "better understand the dynamics of contemporary democratic movements in Africa and African opinions about how democracy can be most effectively encouraged." Issues covered include: The Movement toward Democracy in Africa, Transitions to Democracy in Africa, Democracy and Governance in Africa, Institutions needed to Sustain Democracy, Role of Extra-African Forces in Democratization, and the Role of Africans in the Democratization Process.

**Licht, Robert A. & Bertus de Villiers, Editors. (1994). South Africa's Crisis of Constitutional Democracy. Washington D.C.: AEI Press.**

Based on a 1992 Conference in Johannesburg in July 1992, called "Constitutionalism in South Africa and in the United States: A Dialogue." The purpose of the conference was to bring together South African and American scholars for a discussion on constitutionalism. The book focuses on what the U.S. Constitution can bring to the debate about the kind of constitution that is promulgated in South Africa. The introduction summarizes the other articles in the book. In Chapter 2, "Constitutionalism in the New South Africa," author Pierre Olivier analyzes the various approaches to constitutionalism; the Westminster, American, German, socialist, and African approaches, and discusses their relevance to constitutional development in South Africa. In Chapter 3, Thomas Pangle examines the relevance of the United States constitution for South Africa. In Chapter 4, Kader Asmal examines the federalism debate by examining federal vs unitary systems. In Chapter 5, Daniel J. Elazar argues for the implementation of a federal system in South Africa, based on a comparison of South Africa and the United States. In Chapter 6, Dennis Davis addresses the economic components of constitutionalism by examining the "appropriate" level of state intervention into the economy. In Chapter 7, Marc Plattner goes back to The Federalist papers to examine the relationship between the political and economic system in American constitutional theory. In Chapter 8, John Dugard argues that the failure of the Westminster system to protect individual rights and freedoms adequately speaks to the continuing relevance of the U.S. example to the human rights debate in South Africa. Robert A. Goldwin, in Chapter 9, explores the relevance of the bill of rights in the U.S. constitutional debate. In Chapter 10,Gretchen Carpenter examines the experiences of several former British colonies under Westminster systems. In Chapter 11, Walter Burns examines the U.S. Constitution as a product of the circumstances surrounding its inception. In Chapter 12, David Welsh looks at parties in any new constitutional arrangement. Finally, in Chapter 13, James Ceaser examines the link between political process and constitutionalism in the U.S.

**Motala, Ziyad. (1994). Constitutional Options for a Democratic South Africa : a Comparative Perspective. Washington, D.C. : Howard University Press.**

An evaluation of constitutional options for post-Apartheid South Africa through a comparative exploration of constitutional choices of other countries, both within and outside of Africa. Arguing that a constitution serves as a framework for societal goals, the study examines various constitutional options in terms of how well they fulfil specific goals. Western liberal systems and communist systems are examined and compared on the basis of how well they accomplish certain societal goals such as national

unity, socioeconomic change, and democracy. There is discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of a unitary versus a federal government structure, a review of previous South African constitutional efforts, federal states in Africa, marxist African states, socialist African states, and constitutions proposed by various political organizations in South Africa.

**Nnoli, Okwudiba. (1994). Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa: Intervening Variables. Lagos: Malthouse Press, Ltd.**

Discusses the wave of democratization in Africa in terms of its "feasibility" rather than its desirability - with an emphasis on the role that ethnicity can play in the process of democratization. Nnoli discusses both the positive and negative impacts of ethnicity on democratization. He argues that historically, ethnicity is seen to have a primarily negative influence on democratization - such as the tendency of political parties in an ethnically divided society to become polarized along ethnic lines rather than policy issues. Nnoli argues that the positive impacts of ethnicity include: articulation of demands for greater social and economic justice, providing a local base for political mobilization, and promoting community development.

**Nwokedi, Emeka. (1995). Politics of Democratization : Changing Authoritarian Regimes in Sub-Saharan Africa. Munster: University of Hamburg.**

Examines the democratic transitions in Africa in terms of how successful those transitions have been. Nwokedi argues that "the type of the modality of democratic transition invariably determines the outcome of the democratization process, all things being equal: democratization from above will tend to lead to partial transition while the opposite, democratization from below will tend to lead to full transition." (p.3) The chapters address the following issues: democracy in the African context; background to the democratization process in Africa; the conceptualization of civil society; democratization from above; Nigeria's experience as a case study of democratization from above; external effects on democratization; and case study material on Benin, Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Congo, Gabon, Kenya, Niger, Nigeria, Mali, Togo, Zaire, and Zambia.

**Osaghae, Eghosa. (1994). Ethnicity and Its Management in Africa: The Democratization Link. Lagos: Malthouse Press, Ltd.**

Examines some of the ways of managing ethnicity within the context of democratization in Africa. Whereas historically it has been argued that the only way to manage ethnicity was to eradicate it, this monograph examines approaches to managing ethnicity in the context of the argument that democracy will tend to aggravate existing ethnic conflicts and tensions mandating a plan to deal with such eventualities. Osaghae argues that such control is possible. The first section discusses the nature of ethnic conflicts, the second section examines the effects of democratization on such conflicts, and the final section examines ways in which ethnic conflicts can be managed or mismanaged within the democratic framework.

**Ronning, Helge. (1994). Media and Democracy: Theories and Principles with Reference to an African Context. Harare: Sapes Books.**

Discusses the role of the media in the democratic process in the context of two questions: What is an independent press, and what is the relationship between the state and the media? Argues that three major crises that affect the media in Africa are the crisis of power, the crisis of ownership, and the crisis of resources. In terms of power, the crisis is that weak states perceive the media as a threat and seek to

control it. At the same time, the media is weak because its inability to deeply penetrate these societies. In terms of ownership, the crisis is that the media in Africa is largely owned by the state, or by international conglomerates with their own interests, and when indigenously owned are often subject to a variety of problems including undercapitalization, etc. The crisis of resources affects the media in terms of personnel and the material resources necessary to produce such products.

**Wiseman, John A. (1990). Democracy in Black Africa : survival and revival. New York, N.Y. : Paragon House Publishers.**

This analysis argues that the prospects for democracy in Africa are better than painted in much of the literature on African political development. The analysis discusses the "survival and revival" of democracy in Africa in the context of historical political development in Africa, as well as the broader debate about democracy in the Third World. The focus is on the more "successful" African democracies such as Botswana and Mauritius, as well as more qualified cases such as Zimbabwe, Ghana, Uganda, and Senegal.

Back to Table of Contents

# Section III: USAID Documents on Democracy in Africa from 1994-present

## Civil Society

**\*PN-ABX-883 Special Evaluation Civil society and democratic development in Kenya : a CDIE assessment.** U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Policy and Program Coordination. Center for Development Information and Evaluation, Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Kenya, Nairobi, USAID working paper, no. 213, Draft ed. Sep 1994, 33 p., En

\* Microfiche not available -- draft

**PD-ABJ-186 Special Evaluation Joint evaluation of the grant between U.S. Agency for International Development and African - American Labor Center** Roush, James L.; Barrett, Jerome; Iskander, Kate Development Associates, Inc., Arlington, VA, African - American Labor Center, Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Africa. Ofc. of Technical Resources, Washington, DC, (Sponsor) 6 Jul 1994, v.p. : statistical tables, En 6980477; 9300085

Interim evaluation of a grant to the African-American Labor Center (AALC) to expand its efforts to develop self-sufficient democratic trade unions in sub-Saharan African countries (exclusive of South Africa). The evaluation covers the period 9/91-7/94. USAID objectives in sub-Saharan Africa during this critical period have been well served by the grant to AALC. It has increased the number of its country programs from 23 in 1991 to 29 in 1993, with over 70 percent of the direct costs of the grant going to country programs, i.e., to support individual trade union centers. The grant also funds rapid assistance to trade union federations; initial activities where a full-scale program is not yet called for; activities by U.S. unions with counterpart African unions under the auspices of International Trade Secretariats; and collaborative activities with regional and sub-regional trade union organizations. Due in significant

measure to AALC support, trade union leaders appear to understand and accept the need for economic restructuring, even though they think that the process could be carried out more humanely and with trade union participation. Given the increasing number of countries eligible for participation in the program, the speed of political developments in the region, and the fact that AALC is already stretched thin, especially in terms of field representation, it is recommended that AALC expand its activities and infrastructure. Among the specific recommendations are for AALC to: (1) increase its monitoring capability in the field, hiring additional local staff and specialists, and establishing an additional regional office (possibly two when the turmoil in a number of countries ceases); (2) undertake more research for, and information sharing with, trade union federations on such subjects as institution building, conflict resolution, project development, and comparative labor codes; and (3) increase contacts with other donors, USAID Missions, trade union representatives, etc.

**PN-ABU-031 Conference Proceedings Civil society, democracy and development in Africa : proceedings of a workshop for development practitioners, June 9 - 10, 1994, Washington, DC** Associates in Rural Development, Inc., Burlington, VT, Management Systems International, Inc., Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International. Bur. for Africa. Ofc. of Sustainable Development, Washington, DC, (Sponsor) Jun 1994, iii, 20 p. + annex, En 6980542

**PN-ABT-661 Other USAID Supported Study Assessment of USAID's capacity for rapid response in support of African civil society** Fox, Leslie M.; Bratton, Michael; et al. Associates in Rural Development, Inc., Burlington, VT, U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Africa. Operations and New Initiatives Ofc., Washington, DC, (Sponsor) 7 Jan 1994, viii, 76 p., En 6980542

**PN-ABR-132 Other USAID Supported Study Community Law Centre : an introduction** -- Ukwethulwa Community Law Centre, Durban, U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Africa. Ofc. of Southern African Affairs, Washington, DC, (Sponsor) Jan 1994, 91 p. : ill., EN, Zu 6740301; 6740305

**PN-ABU-255 Bibliography/Index/Literature Review Civil society bibliography with annotations** McHugh, Heather S. Academy for Educational Development, Inc., Washington, DC U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Policy and Program Coordination. Center for Development Information and Evaluation, Washington, DC (Sponsor) Jan 1994, 35 p., En

**PN-ABS-071 AID Supported Study Education for democracy : the role of schools** Villegas-Reimers, Eleonora Academy for Educational Development, Inc., Washington, DC U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Latin America and Caribbean.Ofc. of Development Resources. Education and Human Resources Div.,Washington, DC, (Sponsor) EHRTS (education and human resources technical services) advocacy series: education and development, no. 6, 1994, 41 p., En

# Conflict Resolution

**PN-XXX-000 (to be assigned) Manual Preventing and Mitigating Violent Conflicts: A Guide for Practitioners** Greater Horn of Africa Initiative, U.S. Department of State U.S. Agency for International Development Creative Associates International March 1996, 413 p., En

**PN-ABX-508 Program Document Africa conflict resolution act inter-agency plan** U.S. Dept. of State, Washington, DC, U.S. Dept. of Defense, Washington, DC, U.S. Information Agency, Washington, DC, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International

Development, (Washington, DC), (Sponsor) 19 Apr 1995, 44 p. + 2 annexes : statistical tables, En

**PN-ABU-375 AID Supported Study Efforts in ethnic conflict resolution : preliminary lessons learned** McHugh, Heather S. Academy for Educational Development, Inc., Washington, DC U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Policy and Program Coordination. Center for Development Information and Evaluation, Washington, DC (Sponsor) Mar 1995, ix, 52 p., En

Back to Table of Contents

# Democracy/Governance--General

**\*PN-ABW-968 Assessment Democracy / governance assessments : a review of their design, implementation and the underlying framework** Thomson, James T.; Wynkoop, Andree M. Associates in Rural Development, Inc., Burlington, VT, Management Systems International, Inc., Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Africa. Ofc. of Development Planning, Washington, DC, (Sponsor) Aug 1995, 58 p., En 6980542

\* Best available copy -- pages 15, 17-19 missing

**PD-ABL-806 Special Evaluation Zambia democratic governance project : monitoring and evaluation studies -- mid-term review** Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI, U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Zambia, Lusaka, (Sponsor) 18 Jul 1995, 148 : statistical tables, En 6110226

Evaluates project to support democratic governance initiatives in Zambia. Mid-term evaluation covers the period 1992-95. Although slow to hit full-stride, the project is now making major and critical contributions to the consolidation of democratic institutions and processes in Zambia. Four of the five project components have made progress toward intended results, while the fifth has been suspended (correctly, in the evaluation team's judgment). (1) Constitutional Reform. The Constitutional Review Commission has completed a nationwide series of public hearings, and issued a draft constitution on June 16, 1995. (2) Civic Education. Despite slow institutional growth at its National Secretariat, the Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP) has built a cadre of volunteer trainers to conduct a mass civic education campaign. (3) The Media Independence component has begun to increase the professional skills of Zambian journalists and contributed to policy dialogue leading to media law reform. (4) Under the Policy Coordination component, the project has established a policy analysis and coordination unit in the Cabinet Office and introduced efficiencies into the conduct of cabinet affairs. (5) In the wake of the National Assembly's failure to meet an agreed condition precedent, USAID/Z has withdrawn support from the Legislative Performance component. A major design flaw was inadequate attention to institutional arrangements and practical mechanisms for implementation. Other project weaknesses have included substantial delays in procurement of TA and commodities and occasional constraints placed on the strong performance of the Democracy and Governance Advisor by the need to play the dual role of policy advisor and Project Administrator. In addition, the sheer range of project activities has stretched USAID/Z management capacities and posed challenges of project integration. Despite these problems, the project has made USAID the lead donor in the democratic governance field in Zambia.

**PD-ABL-598 Special Evaluation Democratic initiatives project (656-0227) : mid-term evaluation** Fox, Leslie; Somerville, Carolyn Management Systems International, Inc., Washington, DC, U.S.

Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Mozambique, Maputo, (Sponsor) U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Global Programs, Field Support and Research. Center for Economic Growth. Ofc. of Economic and Institutional Reform, Washington, DC, (Sponsor) Jun 1995, xv, 41 p. + 4 annexes, En 6560227; 9365451

Evaluates a project to support democratic initiatives in Mozambique. Midterm evaluation covers the period 9/91-3/95. Progress in the project's four components is as follows. Outputs of the election component, by far the project's most important, are nearly complete. End-of-Project Status (EOPS) was achieved with the holding of the October 1994 multiparty elections, which saw a turnout of some 87 percent of registered voters. However, midterm sustainability of the electoral process is in doubt. Progress has been far less in the other three components. None of the outputs under the Judicial Sector Strengthening outputs, with the exception of the legal sector assessment, have been completed and are unlikely to be completed. EOPS is unlikely to be completed before 12/31/96. Outputs in both the Decentralization/Traditional Authority and the Civil Society components are less than 10 percent completed and are unlikely to be completed by the PACD; further, although EOPS are being achieved in these components, it is not as a result of project activities. In terms of the election component, the project has been a resounding success. Multi-party elections have led to the installation of a democratically elected government, thereby effecting the transition from war to peace and establishing a foundation for a stable democratic society. However, the historical power asymmetries which define much of the past 400 years are still in place, particularly in relation to civil society and local government. The slow progress of the other three components is not considered particularly unusual within the larger framework of the Mission's Transition Program. In fact, it is only with the elections safely behind that these other more developmental components have a realistic chance of being implemented; that elections -- particularly first-time elections -- always dominate the agenda in democratization projects, should be kept in mind in designing future such projects.

**PN-ABW-062 AID Supported Study Relationship between democracy and sustainability : a disengaged process** McHugh, Heather S. Academy for Educational Development, Inc., Washington, DC U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Policy and Program Coordination. Center for Development Information and Evaluation, Washington, DC (Sponsor) [Sustaining the vision : lessons for USAID's move toward sustainability and sustainable development] series issue paper, no. 3, May 1995, iii, 32 p., En

**PN-ABU-987 AID Supported Study Lessons for citizens of a new democrac**y Ordeshook, Peter C. University of Maryland. Center for Institutional Reform and the Informal Sector, College Park, MD U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Global Programs, Field Support and Research. Center for Economic Growth. Ofc. of Microenterprise Development, Washington, DC (Sponsor) Center for Institutional Reform and the Informal Sector (IRIS) working paper series, no. 155, Apr 1995, vii, 149 p., En

**Available from ABIC, Handbook/Manual/Guide Democracy and Human Rights Fund Manual: 116(e) Program** U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C. U.S. Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C. April 1995, 74p., En

**PN-ABS-504 Annual Report Annual report on program performance, 1994 : core report** U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Policy and Program Coordination. Center for Development Information and Evaluation, Washington, DC, Mar 1995, viii, 25 p. + appendix, En Full

report: PN-ABS-505

Development assistance is in the United States' interest only if it produces results. This report provides evidence from USAID Mission reports, central evaluations, and other data collected during 1994 that USAID is achieving measurable results. Although it draws on experience and examples from all of USAID's programs, it focuses on programs in 41 countries in Africa, Asia, the Near East, and Latin America and the Caribbean where the Agency has decided to concentrate its sustainable development resources. The report is organized according to USAID's main sustainable development themes -- economic growth, democracy, population and health, and environment -- followed by discussions of humanitarian assistance and assistance to Eastern Europe and the New Independent States. Each section describes the strategy pursued by the Agency, objectives as of September 1994, results achieved, and lessons learned. Performance highlights for each category of assistance are also identified. A final section outlines challenges that face the Agency's efforts to manage for results in 1995.

**\*PN-ABS-505 Special Evaluation Agency for International Development : annual report on program performance, 1994 -- full report** U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Policy and Program Coordination. Center for Development Information and Evaluation, Washington, DC, Mar 1995, ix, 117 p. + appendix : charts, statistical tables, En Core report: PN-ABS-504

\* Fulltext electronic copy available -- electronic version does not contain tables, figures, charts, or graphics

**PD-ABK-731 Other Program Document Assessment of program impact (API) : USAID / Niger -- 1994** U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Niger, Niamey, 24 Feb 1995, 32 p. : statistical tables, En

**PN-ABU-034 Other USAID Supported Study Assessing and assisting democratic governance reform : a framework** Oakerson, Ronald J. Associates in Rural Development, Inc., Burlington, VT, Management Systems International, Inc., Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Africa. Ofc. of Development Planning, Washington, DC, (Sponsor) Feb 1995, [38] p., En 6980542

**PN-ABU-033 Other USAID Supported Study Utility of the analytic framework in analyzing democratic governance in Mali** Coulibaly, Cheibane Associates in Rural Development, Inc., Burlington, VT, Management Systems International, Inc., Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Africa. Ofc. of Development Planning, Washington, DC, (Sponsor) U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Mali, Bamako, (Sponsor) Feb 1995, 15 p., En 6980542

**PN-ABU-007 Other USAID Supported Study Framework for assessing democratic governance : summary document** Oakerson, Ronald J. Associates in Rural Development, Inc., Burlington, VT, Management Systems International, Inc., Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Africa. Operations and New Initiatives Ofc., Washington, DC, (Sponsor) Feb 1995, 11 p., En 6980542

**PN-ABU-851 Other USAID Supported Study Democratic governance and sectoral work : toward programmatic integration** Walker, S. Tjip Associates in Rural Development, Inc., Burlington, VT, Management Systems International, Inc., Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International. Bur. for Africa. Ofc. of Sustainable Development, Washington, DC, (Sponsor) Feb 1995, 17 p., En 6980542

Over the past several months, the Africa Bureau has been developing analytic methodology for conducting macro-political assessments of its democratic governance initiatives. Emerging evidence of the importance of sectoral issues in this effort led to this study, which seeks to identify the linkages between democratic governance reform and sectoral activities. The overall finding is that clear connections exist between sector priorities and strategies and democratic governance efforts, and that the Africa Bureau's sectoral divisions are interested in pursuing them further. More specific findings are as follows. (1) The current sectoral strategies of the Africa Bureau's Sustainable Development Division (AFR/SD) are increasingly demand-oriented, and represent a departure from the supply driven approaches of the past. (2) Connections between democratic governance and sectoral programming occur at two levels. At a strategic level, those engaged in designing and implementing sectorally based programs need to recognize and adapt to the changing political and policy environment resulting from democratization in African countries. At a programmatic level, there is both the opportunity and the need to integrate sectoral programming and broader democratic governance reform efforts. (3) The wide scope for integrated programming is due to the adoption of demand-oriented sectoral strategies that have much in common with democratic governance efforts. A bibliography is appended.

**PD-ABK-362 Periodic Report USAID / Kenya : portfolio management review, April 1 - September 30, 1994** U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Kenya, Nairobi, 10 Jan 1995, v.p. : charts, statistical tables, En

Presents USAID/Kenya's semi-annual review of its portfolio, including initiatives in the area of population and health, private enterprise, agricultural development, and democracy and governance, for the period 4-9/94. The implementation of the new Democracy and Governance project has commenced with execution of a Cooperative Agreement with the Institute for Policy Analysis and Research (IPAR) to support establishment of an indigenous institute for medium- and long-term policy research and analysis. Procurement of an interim project manager is in progress, and recruitment of project management personnel is expected to accelerate the pace of project implementation, especially the civil society component. The pace of negotiations with GOK regarding the signing of the project agreement for implementation of the public sector components of the project has been slow but indications are that the draft agreement is circulating within GOK offices. The Democracy and Human Right Fund (116(e)) grants continue to play a key role in the development of civil society. During the reporting period, the number of active grants was five, and the number of grants whose PACD has expired but not closed was six, all with a total funding of $532,400 provided under the DHRF since 1991.

**PN-ABX-153 Other USAID Supported Study Ghana : survey mission** National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Ghana, Accra, (Sponsor) U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Africa. Operations and New Initiatives Ofc., Washington, DC, (Sponsor) Dec 1994, 14 p. + 3 appendices : maps, En 6980486

**PN-ABW-200 Other USAID Supported Study Perspectives on participation in economic policy reform in Africa** Brinkerhoff, Derick W.; Kulibaba, Nicolas P. Management Systems International, Inc., Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Global Programs, Field Support and Research. Ofc. of Economic and Institutional Development, Washington, DC, (Sponsor) [Implementing policy change (IPC)] working papers, no. 8, Dec 1994, 18 p., En 9365451

As economic and political liberalization continue to evolve in Africa, African decisionmakers and international donor agencies have become interested in how the two trends may support and reinforce

each other. An issue central to both trends, popular participation, has enjoyed something of a policy renaissance over the past several years. This paper reviews the literature on participation in economic reform, and specifically examines whether patterns of participation influence the reform process. The authors find that the circumstances surrounding participation and the way in which it occurs do affect the economic reform process, but these effects can be complex and are closely intertwined with political and governance factors. For the most part, chances for participation are better under democratic than authoritarian regimes, and in societies which are rich in social capital and associational life. Increased participation appears to enhance prospects for sustainable as well as technically sound policy reforms, but creating opportunities for participation and managing the process over time are exacting tasks for reformers. The report advises collaborative policy design; improving the institutional capacities of NGOs, private sector groups, political parties, and the media; increasing opportunities for participation through matching grants, revenue-sharing mechanisms, and the participation of research centers and local NGOs in data collection on policy impacts; and greater openness to mid-course corrections in policy implementation. Issues in Africa's swiftly changing sociopolitical and economic dynamics demanding further attention are identified in conclusion. Includes an extensive bibliography.

**PN-ABW-129 Assessment Improving democratic governance for sustainable development : an assessment of change and continuity in Niger -- summary final report** Charlick, Robert; Fox, Leslie; et al. Associates in Rural Development, Inc., Burlington, VT, Management Systems International, Inc., Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International. Bur. for Africa. Ofc. of Sustainable Development, Washington, DC, (Sponsor) 27 Oct 1994, 18 p., En 6980542

**\*PD-ABJ-861 Project/Program/Activity Design Document Democracy / governance support project : amendment no. 1** U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Ethiopia, Addis Ababa, Draft ed. 18 Oct 1994, [46] p., En 6630007

\* Best available copy -- page 19 missing

**PD-ABJ-557 Other Program Document Strategic plan -- initiative for Southern Africa (ISA) : USAID review and discussion document** U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Africa. Ofc. of Southern African Affairs, Washington, DC, Draft ed. 30 Sep 1994, 59 p., En

**PN-ABS-038 Other USAID Supported Study Lessons learned on the integration of health, population, environment, democratization and privatization into basic education curriculum in Africa: final report** Cain, Joyce; Schuman, Susan; et al. Creative Associates International, Inc., Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Africa. Ofc. of Analysis, Research and Technical Support, Washington, DC, (Sponsor) U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Global Programs, Field Support, and Research. Ofc. of Health, Population, and Nutrition, Washington, DC, (Sponsor) U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Global Programs, Field Support, and Research. Ofc. of Education, Washington, DC, (Sponsor) ARTS publication : technical paper, no. 14, Jul 1994, xvii, 115 p., En 9365832

A number of African countries have undertaken to integrate instruction on such societally crucial topics such as health (especially, HIV/AIDS), population, the environment, democracy, and privatization into their formal basic education curricula. This report presents case studies of curriculum reform and development efforts in Botswana, Senegal, and The Gambia, from which it attempts to develop some general insights and suggestions on the pace, nature, and direction of curriculum development and reform in African societies. The first section briefly compares traditional, rigid educational theory to more

modern, holistic theories on the goals of education, the learning process, and curriculum design; section two contains the three case studies; the third and final section presents synthesis observations and recommendations. While the report finds that the integration of health, population, and environmental issues into basic education is at an embryonic stage in the three countries studied, the synthesis findings focus on what African countries can do overall to improve their basic education programs; among suggestions are the need for culturally appropriate curricula and teaching methods; greater attention to gender issues; and in-service teacher training programs. Appendices include: (1) charts and matrices summarizing findings on the educational programs in the three countries; (2) a synthesis of conclusions of the literature review undertaken for the report; (3) a general bibliography, and individual bibliographies for democracy/privatization, environmental, HIV/AIDS, health and population, and curriculum issues; (4) a list of contacts in Botswana, Senegal, and The Gambia; and (5) a list of upcoming ECONET accessible conferences on education.

**PD-ABG-718 Project/Program/Activity Design Document Strengthening democracy and governance in Kenya** U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Kenya, Nairobi, 30 Jun 1994, v.p. : statistical tables, En 6150266

Project to strengthen democratic governance in Kenya. The project will improve the performance of Parliament, create an independent policy analysis organization, support Kenyan NGOs involved in the promotion of democracy, and improve public financial administration. The first component will provide TA and training to enhance the legislative skills of Members of Parliament (MPs), as well as of the staff members, including librarians, of the Office of the Clerk. Specific objectives are to improve parliamentary ability to modify or redraft legislation, the quality of parliamentary debate on major public policy issues, and parliamentary access to pertinent information. Under its second and most significant component, the project, in cooperation with other donors, will establish a new, nonpartisan policy analysis organization, to be called the Institute for Policy Analysis and Research (IPAR) to enhance understanding of, and debate upon, emerging public policy issues, including the long-term economic, political, social, and environmental challenges facing Kenya. The project will support IPAR's production of high-quality, independent policy research studies, and strengthen its ability to engage in ongoing dialogue with government agencies, universities, research institutes, NGOs, consultant firms, and the private sector. The third component will strengthen Kenya's civil society through institution-building grants to existing and emerging NGOs that are committed to advancing democracy and good governance through activities in such areas as civic education, human rights, freedom of the press, and election monitoring. Seminars and workshops promoting democracy and good governance will also be supported. The fourth component aims at improving public accountability. To this end, the project will establish a budget monitoring system in the Ministry of Finance, and facilitate the development of an institutional structure needed to ensure the sustainability of tax reforms initiated in 1990. In addition, the project will strengthen the Controller and Auditor General Office as well as two Parliamentary Committees, Public Accounts and Public Investment Committees, which are charged with reviewing and making recommendations on government accountability. TA will also be provided to the Attorney General's Office to upgrade its ability to redress abuses against public financial management.

**PN-ABT-031 Design/Implementation Workplan USAID / Benin : training portfolio review and country training strategy** Gilboy, Andrew C.; Torrey, Elizabeth; Dillener, Isabel AMEX International, Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Africa. Operations and New Initiatives Ofc., Washington, DC, (Sponsor) Jun 1994, 73 p. : statistical tables, En 6980463

**\*PD-ABK-181 Special Evaluation Evaluation report : Ethiopia democracy / governance support project (663-0007)** Cohen, John M.; Hammink, William; Simmons, Emmy U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Ethiopia, Addis Ababa, Draft ed. 10 May 1994, vii, 193 p. + 11 annexes, En In electronic version Tables 1, 2, 7, 9, and 10 are missing; Charts in Annexes III, IV, VII, VIII, and IX are missing 6630007

\* Best available copy -- pages 94 - 97 are missing from paper and microfiche copy -- Fulltext electronic copy available including pp.94-97

**PN-ABT-469 Miscellaneous Document Statement of John F. Hicks, Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Africa, Agency for International Development before the Subcommittee for Africa, Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC** Hicks, John F. U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Africa, Washington, DC, 2 Mar 1994, [8] p., En

**PD-ABH-765 Other Program Document USAID / Lome : final assessment of program impact** U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Togo, Lome, Jan 1994, 14 p. : statistical tables, En

This assessment of USAID/Togo's program impact during FY93 covers a period marred by political violence, a 9-month national strike, and ensuing economic and social deterioration. The political crisis caused serious delays in program implementation, and in 2/93, suspension of U.S. economic aid, except for humanitarian programs. In 11/93, the decision to close USAID/T was announced, and all U.S. direct hires are expected to be gone by 6/30/94. Section I of the report describes the factors affecting USAID/T's program in FY93. Section II outlines progress toward the overall program goal of sustainable market-oriented economic growth, and the subgoal of an improved human resource base, and includes tables of macroeconomic and educational/health indicators. Section III discusses level of achievement of the Mission's two strategic objectives: (1) improved maternal/child health and reduced fertility; and (2) a strengthened national credit union. Finally, Section IV discusses democratic initiatives undertaken by the Mission. Overall, USAID has had a positive impact in Togo, especially in the health sector and the credit union movement.

**PN-ABX-253 Other USAID Supported Study Possibilities and limitations of assisting democratization : the Ugandan experience** Olsen, Norman L. U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Uganda, Kampala, [1994], 8 p., En

**PN-ABX-079 Special Evaluation Afrique : une croissance renouvellee, un espoir ranime -- un rapport sur les performances du Fonds de developpement pour l'Afrique, 1988 - 1992 (Africa: growth renewed, hope rekindled -- a report on the performance of the Development Fund for Africa, 1988 - 1992)** U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Africa. Ofc. of Development Planning, Washington, DC, 1994, 68 p. : ill., charts, statistical tables, En English ed.: PN-ABQ-266

**\*PD-ABK-767 Preliminary Design Namibia's democratization results package description (RPD) : democratic institution building** U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Namibia, Windhoek, [1994], 8 p., En 6730007

\* Microfiche not available -- RPD

**PN-ABU-123 Conference Proceedings USAID presentations at the African Studies Association meeting, Toronto, Canada, November 3 - 6, 1994** U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for

Africa. Ofc. of Development Planning, Washington, DC, [1994], 95 p. : charts, En

Five papers presented by the Africa Bureau at the annual meeting of the African Studies Association, held in Toronto, November 3-6, 1994, are presented. The importance of political and economic empowerment is a major theme of the papers, which treat the following specific subjects: (1) the need for a new economic and political paradigm for African development; (2) the Benin budget crisis of 1994, and its implications for donors; (3) USAID's experience in promoting community-based natural resource management in Africa; (4) political participation in the policy reform process in Malawi's agricultural sector; (5) the role of donors in expanding civil society and democratic governance; (6) emerging evidence that agricultural assistance in Africa is reaping higher pay-offs than previously thought; (7) demographic dimensions of development in sub-Saharan Africa and the linkages between USAID's family planning efforts and other development activities; and (8) the importance of research on women's role in African households.

[Back to Table of Contents](#)

# Elections

**PD-ABM-023 Annual Report Africa Regional Electoral Assistance Fund [AREAF] annual report : cooperative agreement no. AOT-0486-A-00-2134-00 (August 28, 1994 - August 28, 1995)** African - American Institute, New York, NY, Western EcoSystems Technology Inc., Cheyenne, WY, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Africa. Operations and New Initiatives Ofc., Washington, DC, (Sponsor) 5 Oct 1995, 55 p. + 2 appendices, En 6980486

**PN-ABW-114 Handbook/Manual/Guide Managing democratic electoral assistance : a practical guide for USAID** Hirschmann, David; Mendelson, Johanna Thunder and Associates, Inc., Alexandria, VA U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Global Programs, Field Support and Research. Center for Democracy and Governance, Washington, DC (Sponsor) Aug 1995, v, 56 p., En. Delivery order no. 09

**PN-ABX-122 Conference Proceedings Seminaire de formation a l'administration des elections organise au Tchad du 23 Mars au 17 Avril 1995 (Training seminar on election administration, Chad, 23 March to 17 April 1995)** AMEX International, Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Chad, N'Djamena, (Sponsor) Apr 1995, 30 p., Fr

**PN-ABX-157 Other USAID Supported Study Training of territorial administration on election mechanisms : final report** Miezah, Hilary; Traore, Mohammed AMEX International, Washington, DC, GERDDES Tchad, N'Djamena, U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Chad, N'Djamena, (Sponsor) Apr 1995, 7 p. + 5 annexes, En, Fr 6980463

**PD-ABL-563 Final Contractor/Grantee Report Assistance to the electoral process in Mozambique : final report** U.N. Development Programme, New York, NY, U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Mozambique, Maputo, (Sponsor) Apr 1995, v.p. : ill., statistical tables, En. Project MOZ/93/016 6560227

Final report by the grantee, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), on a multidonor activity to help organize and carry out the first multiparty general elections in Mozambique. Report

covers the period 5/93-4/95. Strong, coherent, and independent direction by the National Elections Commission and the dedication and civic awareness of the Mozambicans who conducted the electoral process were decisive in overcoming obstacles -- mutual distrust between the parties involved, social breakdown and physical destruction caused by war, and the return of thousands of refugees and the internal movements of displaced populations -- that might have threatened the success of the elections. The election results, announced by the Chairman of the National Election Commission on 11/19/94, were accepted by the parties, and the elections were recognized as free and fair by the United Nations and the international community. Many observers consider the elections to be an example to be followed in other countries in Africa. The project has provided Mozambique with a human, material, and informational patrimony which provides a base from which to conduct future elections; the electoral process gave Mozambique the opportunity to train and directly involve in the elections more than 64,000 people (2,600 members and officers of the electoral structures, 8,000 registration agents, 1,600 civic education agents, and 52,000 polling station officers), to acquire registration and voting materials, more than 200 vehicles of various kinds, as well as other logistical and technological equipment, and to carry out voter registration for the first time.

**PN-ABU-214 Other USAID Supported Study Local government election results** Bratton, Mike Michigan State University. African Studies Center, East Lansing, MI, U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Zambia, Lusaka, (Sponsor) 17 Feb 1995, [13] p. : statistical tables, En 6110226

**\*PN-ABW-679 Other USAID Supported Study Comparison of the Russia and South Africa election evaluations** Thunder and Associates, Inc., Alexandria, VA, U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Global Programs, Field Support and Research. Center for Democracy and Governance, Washington, DC, (Sponsor) Feb 1995, 15 p., En

* Best available copy -- faded type

This report compares the findings of evaluations of USAID's support for elections in Russia and South Africa, highlighting lessons learned and making recommendations for the design of future democracy and governance programs. For both countries, the report details USAID's strategic objectives, implementing mechanisms and agencies, and project activities, which included political party development, support for the Central Elections Commission (CEC) (both countries), and civic or voter education. There are many lessons to be learned. In the case of Russia: (1) Because participating U.S. NGOs were responding to a need for quick help, their assessments, though of high quality, were not incorporated into long-term planning. Proper baseline data, specific indicators, targets, and evaluation criteria were not established prior to the cooperative agreements. (2) The perception of nonpartisanship may be influenced by the approach to and method of training. In this case, the implementing agency, the International Republican Institute's (IRI) use of local contacts to conduct the initial solicitations for training programs may have affected its reputation for impartiality. (3) Establishing rapport with the CEC is a prerequisite to working effectively with it. (4) USAID's inability to keep up with activities of the NGOs may jeopardize the NGOs' ability to properly manage assistance programs. Lessons learned from the South African election are as follows. (1) The success of the voter education program was the result of its early start and the integration of a local NGO having training experience and community development skills with an international NGO having international election and management skills. USAID will, however, need to do a better job of communicating its goals and requirements. (2) Bipartisan political party training, e.g., by representatives from both IRI and the National Democratic

Institute (NDI), was not deemed important by local parties. (3) Future projects should tailor training materials to the cultural environment and include host country nationals in the planning process. (4) The election law consultations and multiparty fora seem to have had the least impact, possibly due to the timing of these activities. (5) Work with the CEC needs to be done early for maximum effectiveness. Lessons common to both elections are as follows. (1) The timing of election assistance is critical to its success. (2) The U.S. NGOs did not approach either election from a developmental perspective (which would include post-election assistance), but with a single focus on the national election. The NGOs were working under short-term (1 year) cooperative agreement. Since USAID's long-term goal is to support transitions to democracy, the Agency should consider the use of organizations which take a developmental and long-term approach to the democracy sector. (3) The method used for training can be a more important factor than the political affiliation of the trainer.

**PD-ABM-211 Final Contractor/Grantee Report AREAF [African Regional Electoral Assistance Fund] project final report : Niger -- coordination of election observers** National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Africa. Operations and New Initiatives Ofc., Washington, DC, (Sponsor) U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Niger, Niamey, (Sponsor) [1995], [4] p. + attachment, En Attachment: XD-ABM-211-A (Togo report) 6980486

**XD-ABM-211-A Final Contractor/Grantee Report AREAF [African Regional Electoral Assistance Fund] project final report : Togo -- monitoring presidential and legislative elections** National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Africa. Operations and New Initiatives Ofc., Washington, DC, (Sponsor) U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Togo, Lome, (Sponsor) [1995], [7] p., En Attached to PD-ABM-211 (Niger report) 6980486

**PD-ABK-080 Final Contractor/Grantee Report IOM [International Organization for Migration] support to the electoral process : final report** International Organization for Migration, Maputo, U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Mozambique, Maputo, (Sponsor) [Dec 1994], 8 p. + attachment : charts, statistical tables, En Attachment: Electoral project : final statistical report 6560227

**PN-ABX-340 Conference Proceedings Comments on the Namibian presidential and national assembly elections, Windhoek, Namibia, December 7 and 8, 1994** National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Namibia, Windhoek, (Sponsor) Dec 1994, 10 p., En 6980486

In December 1994, Namibia held Presidential and National Assembly elections, the first national elections to be administered by Namibians without major international assistance. This report on the elections was prepared by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), which observed the election process. Overall, the election process in Namibia appeared to operate smoothly. The government should be commended for its commitment to adhering to the elections schedule prescribed in the constitution. Priority was placed upon adequate registration, voter education, and transparency. Officials emphasized secrecy of the ballot and public ownership of the elections. Measures were taken to ensure the integrity of the process, such as permitting international observers into the polling and counting stations, encouraging the use of party seals for ballot boxes, and allowing party agents to remain in the polling station before, during, and after the voting process. Efforts were made by

the Electoral Commission, the Directorate of Elections, and the political parties to make the process smooth and fair. Although some problems did occur, they did not appear to be widespread or intentional. The elections have marked another significant step forward in Namibia's democratic process. (Author abstract)

**\*PN-ABU-686 Other USAID Supported Study Programme d'appui multidonateur au processus electoral du Tchad : rapport de la mission technique international -- avec annexes (Multi-donor support program for the electoral process in Chad : report of the international technical mission -- with annexes )** Astorkia, Jose; Trudel, Linda U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Chad, N'Djamena, (Sponsor) 17 Nov 1994, 26 p. + attachments, Fr Related document: PD-ABK-865 6980541; 9300023

\* Some annexes listed but not included with document

**PD-ABK-865 Trip Report Programme d'appui au processus electoral du Tchad (Support program for the electoral process in Chad)** Astorkia, Jose; Trudel, Linda U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Chad, N'Djamena, 7 Nov 1994, ca. [200] p. : charts, Fr Includes: set of Chad Government documents Related document: PN-ABU-868 6980541; 9300023

**PN-ABU-038 Other USAID Supported Study Analise dos resultados das primeiras eleicoes gerais e multipartidarias realizadas entre os dias 27 e 29 de outubro de 1994 (Analysis of the results of the first general and multi-party election carried out the 27th of October through the 29th of October 1994) Mozambique.** Technical Secretariat of Electoral Administration, [Maputo], U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Mozambique, Maputo, (Sponsor) 29 Oct 1994, [46] p. : statistical tables, Pt 6560227

**\*PN-ABT-467 Other USAID Supported Study South Africa : campaign and election report** International Republican Institute, Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to South Africa, Pretoria, (Sponsor) Oct 1994, 129 p. + 20 appendices : charts, statistical tables, En

\* International Republican Institute, 1212 New York Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20005-3987 USA

**PD-ABK-176 Final Contractor/Grantee Report Report : Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights under Law -- observer delegation to South Africa's first non-racial national election -- April 16 - May 2, 1994 --`witnesses to the birth of a new South Africa'** Farmer, Francesca E. Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to South Africa, Pretoria, (Sponsor) 16 Jun 1994, 23 p. + 4 appendices, En 6740301

**\*PD-ABK-182 Preliminary Design Supporting the electoral process** U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Ghana, Accra, 9 Jun 1994, [48 p.] + 4 annexes : statistical tables, En 6410133

**PN-ABW-923 Assessment Pre-election technical assessment : Ethiopia** Klein, Keith International Foundation for Electoral Systems, Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Ethiopia, Addis Ababa, (Sponsor) U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Global Programs, Field Support and Research. Ofc. of Economic and Institutional Development, Washington, DC, (Sponsor) May 1994, 25 p. + 2 appendices, En 6630007; 9300023

**PD-ABI-311 Periodic Report AREAF [Africa Regional Electoral Assistance Fund] : quarterly report, first quarter, 1994 -- cooperative agreement no. AOT-0486-A-00-2134-00** African - American Institute, Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Africa. Operations and New Initiatives Ofc., Washington, DC, (Sponsor) 28 Apr 1994, 7 p. + 1 annex : charts, En 6980486

**PN-ABU-924 Handbook/Manual Party voting agent trainers manual** U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to South Africa, Pretoria, 16 Mar 1994, v.p., En 6740301

**PD-ABM-212 Final Contractor/Grantee Report AREAF [African Regional Electoral Assistance Fund] project final report : democratic consolidation in Niger, Mali and Benin -- the role of an effective legislature : grant no. AOT-0486-A-00-2134-00, modification no. 10, January 1 to September 30, 1994** National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Africa. Operations and New Initiatives Ofc., Washington, DC, (Sponsor) 1994, 13 p., En 6980486

**PN-ABW-112 Handbook/Manual Eleicoes gerais multipartidarias / 1994 : manual dos delegados de lista e da candidatura (General multi-party elections / 1994 : manual for delegates of listed candidates)** International Republican Institute, Washington, DC, Mozambique. Technical Secretariat of Electoral Administration, [Maputo], (Sponsor) U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Mozambique, Maputo, (Sponsor) [1994], 47 p. : ill., Pt 6560227

**PN-ABU-926 Handbook/Manual Funda ngezokhetho (Voter education)** Tembaletu Community Education Centre, Pietermaritzburg, U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to South Africa, Pretoria, (Sponsor) 1994, 40 p. : ill., Zu English ed.: PN-ABU-925 6740301

**\*PN-ABU-923 Handbook/Manual Voter education trainers manual** Mabuza, Wesley M., comp. Institute for Contextual Theology, Braamfontein, U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to South Africa, Pretoria, (Sponsor) 1994, iii, 19 p. : ill., En 6740301

* Institute for Contextual Theology

**\*PN-ABT-617 Other USAID Supported Study Gabon : a report on the presidential elections -- December 5, 1993** African - American Institute, Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Africa. Operations and New Initiatives Ofc., Washington, DC, (Sponsor) African - American Institute publication series, no. 2, 1994, 341 p. : ill., En, Fr 6980486

* African - American Institute, 833 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017 USA

**PN-ABT-468 Other USAID Supported Study South Africa prepares for the democratic challenge : the report of the pre-election mission Mutua, Makau** Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to South Africa, Pretoria, (Sponsor) [1994], 12 p., En 6740301

In March 1994, a delegation from the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, composed of U.S. and African lawyers and academics, traveled throughout South Africa's Northwest Province, particularly within the former "homeland" of Bophuthatswana (ex-Bop) and the urban areas of Klerksdorp and Rustenburg, to assess the Province's readiness for the country's first nonracial national elections in April 1994. The delegation toured the Province during a time of great political tension -- only

one week after a popular uprising in Bop had deposed the autocratic and dreaded Mangope regime, effectively bringing Bop under South African control. the determination of the people of South Africa to end apartheid and the herculean efforts of the Independent Electoral Commission to mount the election in the face of serious security difficulties and resource constraints. The report discusses the political changes in Bop, the history of the security situation and of intimidation by the South African police, civic and human rights organizations and activities, political party activities, and preparations for the elections.

## Governance

**\*PN-ABX-342 Other Program Document Improving policy formulation and implementation in Zambia** Koenen-Grant, Julie U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Zambia, Lusaka, (Sponsor) Draft ed. 24 Jul 1995, [26] p., En 6110226; 9365451

* Microfiche not available -- draft

**PN-ABU-420 Other USAID Supported Study Economic management in the Sahel -- a study of policy advocacy in Mali** Josserand, Henri; Bingen, R. James; et al. Associates in Rural Development, Inc., Burlington, VT, U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Global Programs, Field Support and Research. Center for Economic Growth. Ofc. of Economic and Institutional Reform, Washington, DC, (Sponsor) U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Mali, Bamako, (Sponsor) Feb 1995, vi, 86 p. + 9 appendices : charts, statistical tables, En 9365446

Since 1991, Mali has made considerable progress in sustaining economic and political liberalization. This report, based on a one-year study, examines the role of urban and rural interest groups in policy reform in the cotton sector, which represents over 50 percent of the country's export earnings. The study applied a multidisciplinary approach to several fronts: the economic policy process; the role of the bureaucracy; the structure and dynamics of interest groups; and the functions of the media and the National Assembly. The study found that the ability of interest groups to affect policy often is dependent on the bureaucracy's control of particular policies (which varies from policy to policy) and the degree to which policies are coherent with one another. Unfortunately, the National Assembly has very little technical support or parliamentary staff and tends to play a biased role in policy oversight and interest group representation. However, since 1991, the Malian media (a unique phenomenon in West Africa), particularly radio, have played a critical role in the new democratic process and in opening up the economic policy debate (although coverage remains limited and, on economic issues, uninformed). It was found that the success of interest groups in policy making was tied to resource endowment, association with parliamentary groups, access to high levels of the policy process and information, and capacity for policy analysis. SYCOV, the union of cotton producers, has enjoyed uncommon success in reaching its policy goals, probably due to its close relationship with the government and the high level of literacy among its leaders. In sum, Mali is beginning to achieve basic elements of democracy -- a free press, a policy role for interest groups, etc. -- and serves as a model to West Africa. Much more, however, needs to be done. Includes bibliography and a detailed chronology of political and economic events since 1990.

**PN-ABX-262 Other USAID Supported Study Using a democracy / governance strategy to reduce illicit payments on African roads : a case study on Niger** Okanla, Moussa U.S. Agency for

International Development. Bur. for Global Programs, Field Support and Research. Center for Democracy and Governance, Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Africa. Regional Economic Development Services Ofc. West and Central Africa, Abidjan, (Sponsor) Draft ed. 1995, [7] p., En For discussion at the 2nd annual USAID Democracy Officers Conference, Washington, 24 - 26 July 1995 - background draft

**PN-ABU-216 Other USAID Supported Study Democratization and economic reform in Zambia**
van de Walle, Nicolas; Chiwele, Dennis Michigan State University. African Studies Center, East Lansing, MI, U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Zambia, Lusaka, (Sponsor) MSU [Michigan State University] working papers on political reform in Africa : working paper, no. 9, 15 Nov 1994, 64 p., En 6110226

Recently, development scholars and donors have begun to argue that democratization can spur economic growth in African countries by fostering greater accountability and thus more transparent decision making. This report assesses the impact of democratization on economic reform in Zambia. Section 3 reviews Zambia's economic crisis from its origins in the 1960s, through the failed attempts at reform in the 1980s, to the emergence of the democracy movement in 1990 and the subsequent collapse of the Kaunda regime and installation of the democratic Third Republic under Chiluba and the MMD party. Section 4 discusses decision making in the new government; there is now a favorable environment for economic reform because of a strengthened civil service, a weakening of the presidency and of the political clout of the party in power, and the growing influence of the cabinet and of western donors. However, the executive branch still dominates the legislature and in general interest groups have not increased their influence on policy making (in fact, organized labor has probably lost influence). Section 5 analyzes the MMD's implementation of economic reform, finding that significant progress had been made on some elements while others were at a standstill or moving very slowly. Section 6 attributes this slowness to a number of factors: the failure of powerful interest groups to emerge; the fact that, on some issues, such as privatization, MMD never enjoyed a consensus; and administrative complexities and financial burdens. Implications for donors, detailed in Section 7, are that: (1) reforms that have advanced the furthest are those initiated during the Second Republic, indicating that policy learning is a prerequisite of successful reform; (2) economic reform in Africa will benefit from further democratization; and (3) donor conditionalities should emphasize governance issues (e.g., continuing the fight against corruption) rather than setting specific targets for privatization. Includes references.

**PN-ABU-005 Other USAID Supported Study Democratization and economic reform in Zambia**
van de Walle, Nicolas; Chiwele, Dennis Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI, U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Zambia, Lusaka, (Sponsor) Zambia democratic governance project : monitoring and evaluation studies, 4 Nov 1994, iv, 62 p., En 6110226

The impact of democratization on economic reform is explored in this case study of reform in Zambia. Individual sections of the report describe: the origins of Zambia's economic crisis in the 1960s and 1970s and failed attempts at reform in the 1980s; the transition to democracy, culminating in the collapse of the Kuanda regime and the triumph of the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) in 1990-91; the extent to which the decisionmaking process has changed under democratization; the reform program for 1992-1994; and the dynamics of reform implementation under democratization. By mid 1994, it was clear that significant progress had been made on some elements of economic reform while others were at a standstill or moving very slowly. Key conclusions of the study are: (1) democratization increases -- though only modestly -- the ability of interest groups to put pressure on the government, and interest

group behavior will on balance improve policy making and not hinder economic reform; (2) political elites and state bureaucracies will continue to prove a bigger obstacle to reform than interest group pressures; (3) democratization has little effect on administrative and technical obstacles to reform; and (4) reform is more likely to be successful when policy learning has occurred within the administration as a result of previous reform efforts. Implications for USAID are detailed in conclusion. Includes an 8-page bibliography.

**PN-ABT-074 AID Supported Study Decentralized public service provision in Sub - Saharan Africa : a false start -- lessons from the DFM [Decentralization : finance and management] projec**t Green, David B. Associates in Rural Development, Inc., Burlington, VT Syracuse University. Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse, NY, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Global Programs, Field Support and Research. Center for Democracy and Governance, Washington, DC (Sponsor) Oct 1994, ii, 41 p. : charts, statistical tables, En

**PN-ABT-664 AID Supported Study Decentralization : improving governance in sub-Saharan Africa -- synthesis report** Garnier, Maurice; Green, David; et al. Associates in Rural Development, Inc., Burlington, VT U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Global Programs, Field Support and Research. Center for Economic Growth. Ofc. of Economic and Institutional Reform, Washington, DC (Sponsor) U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Africa. Ofc. of Development Planning, Washington, DC (Sponsor) Oct 1994, iii, 84 p.: statistical tables, En

**PD-ABJ-528 Final Evaluation Report Evaluation finale : programme de soutien du developpement municipal, 681-0004 (Final evaluation : municipal development support project, 681-0004)** Doan, Peter L.; Robbins, Edward H. International City / County Management Association, Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Africa. Regional Economic Development Services Ofc. West and Central Africa, Abidjan, (Sponsor) U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Global Programs, Field Support and Research. Center for Environment. Ofc. of Environment and Urban Programs, Washington, DC, (Sponsor) Aug 1994, xiv, 35 p. + attachments : charts, maps, Fr English ed.: PD-ABJ-527 6810004; 9401008

**PD-ABJ-527 Final Evaluation Report Final evaluation : municipal development support project, 681-0004** Doan, Peter L.; Robbins, Edward H. International City / County Management Association, Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Africa. Regional Economic Development Services Ofc. West and Central Africa, Abidjan, (Sponsor) U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Global Programs, Field Support and Research. Center for Environment. Ofc. of Environment and Urban Programs, Washington, DC, (Sponsor) Aug 1994, xii, 45 p. + attachments : charts, maps, En French ed.: PD-ABJ-528 6810004; 9401008

**Final evaluation of a project to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of local government operations in the Cote d'Ivoire.** The Research Triangle Institute managed the project's management training component, while A.I.D. managed the revenue enhancement and facilities construction components. Evaluation covers the period 9/90-12/94. Project results were generally positive; training activities and the revenue collection component, which improved property tax collection, were clearly successful A.I.D. investments. The evaluation concludes the following. (1) The project contributed importantly to development of a more democratic society through improved local government. Those who have been involved with the Municipal Development Support Project, nationally, regionally, and locally, will approach their work more productively in the future. (2) The project reinforced the tie

between sanitation and health and improved environmental quality, primarily through a more effective approach to garbage collection and treatment of medical waste. (3) The decision to terminate the bilateral assistance program with Cote d'Ivoire has eliminated the possibility of some of the follow-up activities envisioned in the original project design. A.I.D. has lost its ability to monitor progress in decentralization and communal development at the local level, important because many other countries in the region have come to look at the achievements of the Cote d'Ivoire as a model for their own development strategies. (4) A great deal of management time, both that of A.I.D. and the principal contractor, was devoted to resolving contracting and procurement problems. Possibly, more direct involvement of A.I.D. contract experts in project design and contracting would have been productive. (Author abstract)

**PD-ABJ-526 Final Evaluation Report Evaluation finale : projet de formation en gestion municipale (Final evaluation : municipal management training project)** Doan, Peter L. International City / County Management Association, Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Africa. Regional Economic Development Services Ofc. West and Central Africa, Abidjan, (Sponsor) U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Global Programs, Field Support and Research. Center for Environment. Ofc. of Environment and Urban Programs, Washington, DC, (Sponsor) Aug 1994, vii, 28 p., Fr English ed.: PD-ABJ-525 9401008

**PD-ABJ-525 Final Evaluation Report Final evaluation : municipal management training project** Doan, Peter L. International City / County Management Association, Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Africa. Regional Economic Development Services Ofc. West and Central Africa, Abidjan, (Sponsor) U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Global Programs, Field Support and Research. Center for Environment. Ofc. of Environment and Urban Programs, Washington, DC, (Sponsor) Aug 1994, viii, 31 p., En French ed.: PD-ABJ-526 9401008

Final evaluation of a project (1986-94) to provide municipal management training in Cote d'Ivoire and other countries in West and Central Africa. The project clearly met its objectives. All told, 54 training activities were conducted in 12 countries for 1,127 participants. The project's effectiveness was hampered by several unforeseen events. Political unrest in Guinea, Togo, and Niger curtailed otherwise promising activities in those countries. The closing of the Regional Housing and Urban development Office for West and Central Africa (RHUDO) in Abidjan deprived the project of the extensive benefits of the close relationship between the contractor and RHUDO cited in the 1990 evaluation. Even more, the sudden closing of the Mission in Cote d'Ivoire has affected the project, and will prevent the kind of direct follow-up activities envisioned in the original design. This is particularly distressing since Cote d'Ivoire is widely acknowledged in the region as a leader in decentralization and democratization. Thus, USAID has cut itself out of the very successful regional coordination and exchange mechanisms that it pioneered through this project. Lessons learned are as follows. (1) The project's innovative development of an interconnected network of international, national and local experts to stimulate practical, hands-on discussion effectively promoted dialogue and exchange. It is unlikely that the more theoretical training favored by other donors can achieve the same results. (2) Decentralized municipal development is the "cutting edge" of democratization. Failure to sustain municipal institutions poses the greatest threat to democratic gains. (3) One of the most effective elements of the local seminars was the inclusion of participants from a variety of agencies and local organizations in an effort to build support for local leaders and for the idea that local projects must be financed through local taxes. (4) The regional approach pioneered by this project appears to be an effective vehicle for innovative concepts that are not widely accepted or understood by more traditionally oriented Missions. (5) Follow-up is key to the effectiveness of training. Municipal officials should be provided TA in setting up the new procedures

they learned about in training.

**PN-ABT-966 Special Evaluation African privatization : recent lessons learned -- preliminary draft -- II** Abt Associates, Inc., Bethesda, MD, Price Waterhouse. International Privatization Group, Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Global Programs, Field Support and Research. Ofc. of Emerging Markets, Washington, DC, (Sponsor) U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Africa, Washington, DC, (Sponsor) 20 Jul 1994, ix, 40 p. + 4 annexes, En 9400016

**PN-ABU-171 Other USAID Supported Study Institutional reform and the challenges facing South Africa** Klitgaard, Robert University of Maryland. Center for Institutional Reform and the Informal Sector, College Park, MD, U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Global Programs, Field Support and Research. Center for Economic Growth. Ofc. of Microenterprise Development, Washington, DC, (Sponsor) U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to South Africa, Pretoria, (Sponsor) Center for Institutional Reform and Informal Sector (IRIS) working paper, no. 112, Jun 1994, [50] p. : charts,En 9400015

South Africa's successful transition to a prosperous and just society will depend on more than multiracial elections and more than sensible, market-oriented economic policies, welcome as these are. Like many other countries undergoing change, South Africa will have to address instability, weak institutions of state and market, and ethnic and communal inequalities and identities. Building on experience elsewhere and on ideas from the economics of information, this paper suggests ways to create confidence in the new rules of the game, strengthen the institutions of both market and state, and manage the difficult dynamics of group inequalities. Countries undergoing fundamental changes must somehow make credible their new commitments to democracy and free markets. Otherwise, experience elsewhere indicates that investment will not emerge. The paper explores the possible use of international guarantees--perhaps even international enforcement--of agreements and commitments made in South Africa by South Africans. Such devices should become more widespread in the decade ahead. Better institutions are needed so that democracy and free-market policies will work, especially for the poor. This entails "institutional adjustment," including better information and incentives, improved property rights and the enforcement of contracts, and policies to foster competition. To illustrate principles of wider applicability, the paper discusses several examples: how to improve private-sector markets for agricultural products, for land, and for credit; and how to reform public sector incentives by linking pay to performance. Without special steps, inequalities among groups will be perpetuated, and indeed may fester in new ways. Two quite different possibilities are discussed. First, labor markets must be improved through better information about capabilities and performance; freer arrangements for hiring, firing, and determining pay; and strong affirmative action programs. The latter are analyzed in new ways that emphasize their informational and symbolic properties. Second, and perhaps most speculatively, the vexing and sensitive issues of a multicultural society must be reexamined, including the investigation of how cultural characteristics may interact with different policies and local environments. (Author abstract)

**PN-ABR-912 Other USAID Supported Study Decentralisation, democratisation, organisation des services publics, gouvernance et gestion des ressources naturelles renouvelables : initiatives et dilemmes au Cap-Vert (version abregee du rapport original) (Decentralization, democratization, public service provision and governance and management of renewable resources : initiatives and dilemmas in Cape Verde [abridgment of the original report])** Hobgood, Harlan H. Associates in Rural Development, Inc., Burlington, VT, U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Global

Programs, Field Support and Research. Ofc. of Economic and Institutional Development, Washington, DC, (Sponsor) U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Cape Verde, Praia, (Sponsor) Jan 1994, xviii, 127 p. + 2 appendices, En English ed.: PN-ABR-072 9365446

**PN-ABR-072 Other USAID Supported Study Decentralization, democratization, public service provision and governance and management of renewable natural resources initiatives and dilemmas in Cape Verde** Hobgood, Harlan H. Associates in Rural Development, Inc., Burlington, VT, U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Global Programs, Field Support and Research. Ofc. of Economic and Institutional Development, Washington, DC, (Sponsor) U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Cape Verde, Praia, (Sponsor) Jan 1994, xvi, 111 p., Fr Abridgement of the original report French ed.: PN-ABR-912 9365446

In 1990, Cape Verdians elected a new government, led by the Movimento para Democracia (MPD) party, which has committed itself to decentralizing governmental authority. This study measures Cape Verde's progress in implementing the new policy. Section I reviews Cape Verde's policy framework and political climate at the national level. Section II presents case studies of public service provision in two municipalities -- Ribeira Grande and Santa Catarina. Section III then examines case studies of natural resource management in five rural communities: Lagoa, a desperately poor farm community, and Ponta do Sol, a fisher community, both on the island of Santo Antao; Mato Baixo and its associated irrigated production site at Tabugal, and Pico Leao, a village of farmers and herders, both on the island of Santiago; and Calheta, another farming/herding community, on the island of Maio. The study reaches two major conclusions. First, although the Government of Cape Verde has clearly and repeatedly stated that it favors substantive decentralization of government functions, it does not have a plan of action. Authorities at the national and local levels as well as citizens are confused as to what decentralization means. Without the leadership to shape a coherent action program, decentralization will remain a pious goal with neither form nor substance. Second, citizens' capacity for local governance is limited by tenure rules that prevent them from capturing gains from investments they finance on borrowed land. To ensure democratic governance in rural areas, there has to be a legislated limit on the extent to which landlords can raise rents. Includes bibliography.

Back to Table of Contents

# Rule of Law

**PN-ABX-159 Conference Proceedings Judiciary training seminar[, N'Djamena, Chad, 7 - 25 November 1994] : final report** Sy, Cheikh Tidiane; Diop, Matar; Houndeton, Frederic AMEX International, Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Chad, N'Djamena, (Sponsor) Apr 1995, 14 p. + 8 annexes, En 6980463

**PN-ABU-345 Conference Proceedings Inter-regional seminar for multiparty legislatures in emerging democracies -- October 10 - 13, 1994, Bangui, CAR : debriefing and analysis** National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Africa, Washington, DC, (Sponsor) 13 Oct 1994, [60] p., En 6980486

**PN-AAX-280 AID Supported Study Weighing in on the scales of justice : strategic approaches for donor - supported rule of law programs** Blair, Harry; Hansen, Gary U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Policy and Program Coordination. Center for Development Information and

Evaluation, Washington, DC USAID program and operations assessment report, no. 7, Feb 1994, xi, 53 p. + appendix : charts, En

# Transitions

**\*PN-ABY-278 Other USAID Supported Study Mozambique's transition from war to peace : USAID's lessons learned** Clark, Kimberly Mahling U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Policy and Program Coordination. Center for Development Information and Evaluation, Washington, DC, Apr 1996, vi, 36 p., En Informal series title: Rebuilding societies emerging from conflict \* Fulltext electronic copy available

In October 1994, Mozambique held its first multiparty elections, formally ending a 2-year transition that had begun with the signing of the peace accord in October 1992. USAID was active in the transition, supporting the peace and working with other donors to make sure that the process stayed on track. This paper documents the lessons learned in the transition. Includes bibliography. (Author abstract, modified)

**\*PN-ABX-283 Program Planning Document Sustainable transformation in South Africa : concept paper** U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Chad, N'Djamena, 19 Jun 1995, xii, 59 p. + 2 attachments, En

\* Available only to authorized A.I.D. personnel

**PN-ABX-154 Assessment Findings of an NDI assessment mission to the Gambia** Fomunyoh, Christopher; Melia, Thomas O. National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to The Gambia, Banjul, (Sponsor) U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Africa. Operations and New Initiatives Ofc., Washington, DC, (Sponsor) Apr 1995, [13] p., En 6980486

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) conducted an assessment mission to The Gambia in April 1995 as the country prepared to undertake a transition to democratic, civilian rule by July 1996. The purpose of the mission was to gain a better understanding of political developments in The Gambia since the July 22, 1994, coup d'etat, and to respond to requests for assistance from the Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council (AFPRC), deposed president Dawda Jawara, and Gambian citizens residing in and outside the country. According to the delegation, while some steps have been taken in planning Gambia's return to democratic, civilian rule by July 1996, there is a need to clarify and refine the transition timetable and to broaden the transition process and encourage increased participation by various segments of Gambian civil society. Specific areas in which NDI could assist these efforts are identified. Most Gambians interviewed believed that despite the AFPRC's repeated statements of intent to adhere to the transition timetable, the military's commitment to withdraw from the government is called into question by other public statements and actions. These Gambians, as well as independent observers, think that to overcome the climate of uncertainty and suspicion, it will be important to assure the Gambian people -- early on and as frequently as possible, in words and in deeds -- that the commitment to return the country to democratic, civilian rule is real and irreversible. Gambians want to believe that the AFPRC is truly committed to this goal. (Author abstract, modified)

**PN-ABU-032 Other USAID Supported Study Governance in democratic Mali : an assessment of transition and consolidation and guidelines for near - term action** Hobgood, Harlan Associates in Rural Development, Inc., Burlington, VT, Management Systems International, Inc., Washington, DC,

U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Africa. Ofc. of Development Planning, Washington, DC, (Sponsor) U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Mali, Bamako, (Sponsor) Feb 1995, 24 p., En 6980542

**PD-ABJ-272 Project/Program/Activity Design Document Uganda demobilization and reintegration** U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Uganda, Kampala, 23 Aug 1994, 13 p. + 3 annexes : statistical tables, En 6170135

Project to support a World Bank-led, multi-donor initiative to help Uganda to reduce the size of its military by assisting demobilized soldiers to resettle and become economically productive. The project will include: (1) financial support for Phase II of the Uganda Veterans Assistance Board's (UVAB) program to demobilize and resettle soldiers, and (2) an agricultural technology and credit program, to be administered by two U.S. PVOs. The first component will finance demobilization severance packages for some 10,000 male and female veterans under the UVAB program. Under the program, veterans and their dependents are transported to their home districts and receive cash or in-kind allowances for food, clothing, medical care, per diem, child education (partial), and building and roofing materials, agricultural tools, and seeds. To a limited extent, medical treatments needed by disabled and chronically ill veterans are also covered.

**PN-ABT-985 Assessment Transition to democratic governance in Tanzania : an assessment and guidelines for near - term action -- final report** West, Tina; Charlick, Robert; et al. Associates in Rural Development, Inc., Burlington, VT, Management Systems International, Inc., Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Tanzania, Dar es Salaam, (Sponsor) U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Africa. Operations and New Initiatives Ofc., Washington, DC, (Sponsor) 15 Mar 1994, iv, 134 p., En 6980542

Tanzania is in the early stages of a political transition toward multi-party democracy. This report describes progress to date and sets goals for USAID assistance. Generally, Tanzanian civil society has been extremely dynamic; the number and kind of associations have expanded, free press is flourishing, the cooperative movement has been revived, self-help organizations have emerged in villages, and development associations have emerged at the district level. However, linkages between civil society and public governance institutions are still weak; civil groups are not effectively involved in policy reform or governmental monitoring. Political parties have not yet become effective channels of popular demands. Further, rent-seeking is widespread, and the ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi party shows no willingness to respond to societal pressures to draft a more democratic constitution and repeal the large body of legislation identified as repressive by a 1991 Presidential Commission. The report recommends that USAID: (1) undertake a Democratic Governance Project that would support the media and development of political parties, and create and strengthen NGO networks, in part through an NGO Resource Center and a trust fund for institution building activities; (2) conduct political dialogue with the Government of Tanzania, particularly on constitutional issues and freedom of information; and (3) expand the participation of Tanzanians in USAID programming, including the Agricultural Transport Assistance Program, the program to promote health and population policy, and the Finance Enterprise Development Project.

# Women and Democracy

**PN-ABW-845 Conference Proceedings Gender and democracy in Africa : July 27, 1995 -- a workshop hosted by USAID** Associates in Rural Development, Inc., Burlington, VT, Management Systems International, Inc., Washington, DC, U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Africa. Ofc. of Development Planning, Washington, DC, (Sponsor) 27 Jul 1995, v.p., En 6980542

**PD-ABI-498 Progress/Interim Report Women's Law and Public Policy Fellowship Program [WLPPFP] : leadership and advocacy for women in Africa (LAWA) -- quarterly program performance report for the quarter, January - March, 1994** Knepp, Paul Georgetown University Law Center, Washington, DC U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Africa. Operations and New Initiatives Ofc., Washington, DC, (Sponsor) May 1994, , En 6980475

**PN-ABW-501 Other USAID Supported Study Successful approaches to integrating gender in U.S. development assistance : USAID / Malawi** Romashko, Tania; Morel - Seytoux, Sylvie; Paulson, Susan Development Alternatives, Inc., Bethesda, MD, U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Malawi, Lilongwe, (Sponsor) U.S. Agency for International Development. Bur. for Global Programs, Field Support, and Research. Women in Development, Washington, DC, (Sponsor) Apr 1994, ix, [46] p., En 6120243

**PN-ABU-215 Other USAID Supported Study Gender dimensions of the USAID Zambia democratic governance project** Ferguson, Anne Michigan State University. African Studies Center, East Lansing, MI, U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Mission to Zambia, Lusaka, (Sponsor) 3 Mar 1994, 16 p., En 6110226

Back to Table of Contents